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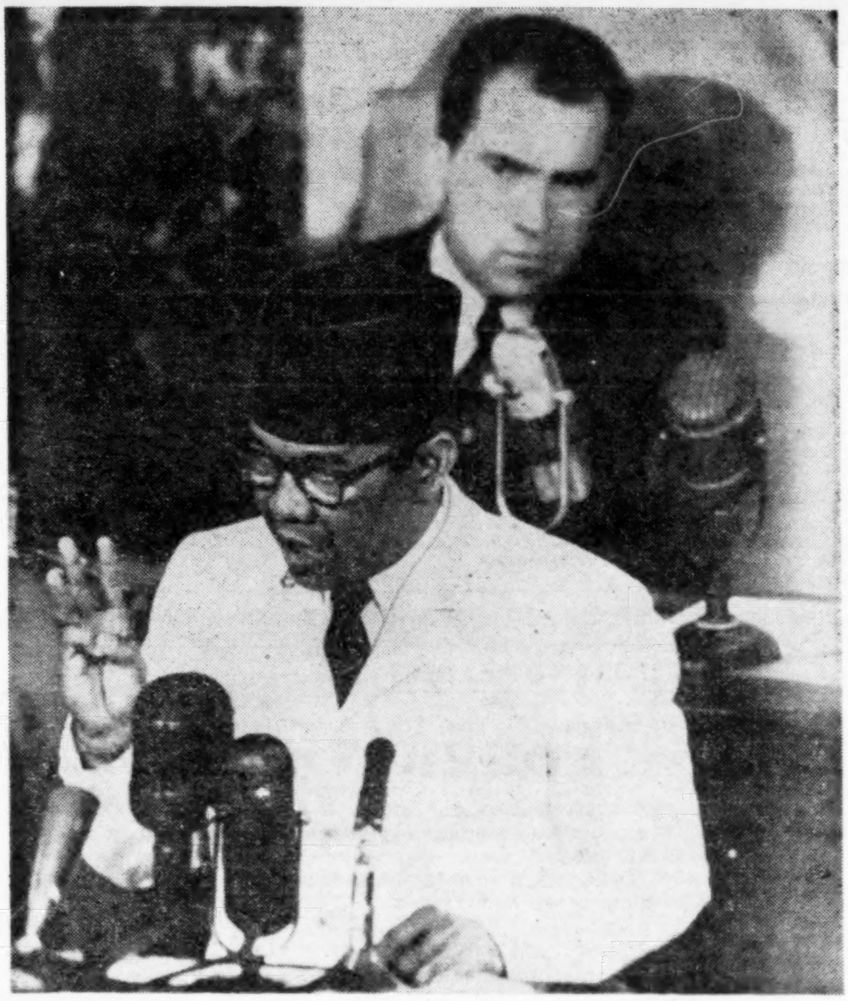


Don't look now, Mr. Sukarno, but there's a man behind you

The red—pardon the expression—carpet was rolled out in Washington for Indonesia's President Sukarno shown addressing Congress with Vice President Nixon in the chair. There were smiles and cheers even for Mr. Sukarno's bluntest comments on colonialism in Asia. But there was strong evidence that what Mr. Sukarno came for he would not get: U.S. support for Indonesia's territorial claims against the Netherlands. And it was also evident that Mr. Sukarno would not take a carpet instead.

COMMITTEE GETS A JOLT

Coe denounces 'spy' hunt, insists victims be cleared

SINCE 1945, and especially since 1948, some government officials and members of Congress have made a career of exploiting a tale about spies in the Government during the years of the New Deal. Hoards of investigators, scores of grand juries and Congressional committees and millions of man-hours have been squandered in stirring this witch's brew—and not a single spy has yet been turned up. The great spy hoax is based almost entirely upon the word of Elizabeth Bentley. But the government has never allowed Bentley to be confronted directly by any of the 80 persons—37 of them one-time government employes—she has publicly accused as members of "spy rings." Independent research of her writings and testimony have shown it to be riddled with inaccuracies, contradictions and fabrications.

But this is an election year and the spy scare is being warmed over again for whatever political advantage some politicians can get out of it.

EASTLAND TO MORRIS: On May 15, after several delays and postponements, V. Frank Coe, former Treasury official and, until 1952, secretary of the International Monetary Fund, was summoned before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, a peculiarly bipartisan group headed by a Democrat, Sen. Eastland, but actually run by a Republican, chief counsel Robert Morris who quit a New York judgeship to take the job.

In some previous experiences before

(Continued on Page 4)

REACTION RIDES IN CONGRESS

70 bills are aimed at Federal courts for liberal rulings

By Lawrence Emery

AT LEAST THREE recent decisions of the Supreme Court have so angered some members of Congress that they are out to reform the highest tribunal. By last week some 70 bills which would affect the Court had been introduced. Not since 1937, when President Roosevelt lost his fight to enlarge the Court, has the institution been the center of such a storm.

What has galled the Congressional conservatives were the decisions that (1) declared segregation in the schools unconstitutional; (2) invalidated the sedition laws of 42 states and two territories; (3) declared unconstitutional a provision of New York's City Charter under which a professor was fired for declining to answer questions in a school witch-hunt.

FAMILIAR FACES: A bill introduced by Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) and ten other Senators would specifically reinstate the various state sedition laws. Another drafted by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.), the father of the Smith Act, would go much further by prohibiting the Court from deciding that Federal statutes in any field supersede state laws and thus nullify them. Last week the Smith bill got the powerful backing of Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.)

Among other things, he cited an important labor case now pending before the Court in which it is argued that the Natl. Labor Relations Board has preempted jurisdiction from the states in certain areas vital to the trade union movement. Sen. Byrd demanded immediate passage of a "general law precluding further application of the preemption doctrine."

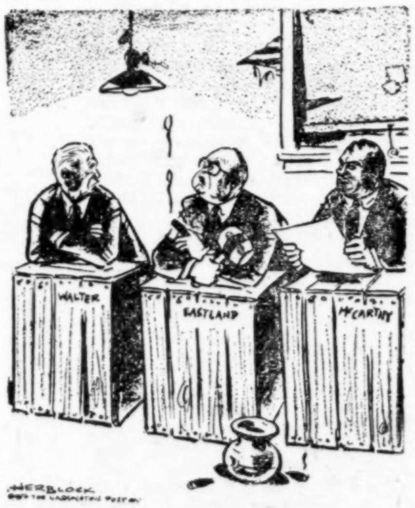
Some of the roughest attacks on the Court as a whole and some of its members came at a hearing on the Bridges bill conducted by Sen. Eastland. Sen. Joe McCarthy, appearing as a witness, called the sedition law ruling "fantastic" and "ridiculous" and said the Court was "completely irresponsible":

"The Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case . . . is the most flagrant instance of judicial legislation that has ever come to my attention. . . . It's not that they are knowingly helping the communist cause. It's just that they don't understand what they are doing. They don't understand the function of the Court. . . . They apparently feel the Court should make the laws and not interpret them."

IMMORTALITY FOR WARREN? Sen. Eastland declared that "there are some very bad influences in the Supreme Court" and joined McCarthy in denouncing some of the Justices as "politicians instead of lawyers." McCarthy spelled it out:

"We made a mistake in confirming as

(Continued on Page 6)



Herblock in Washington Post

"We're agreed, then—the Supreme Court is unconstitutional."

IN THIS ISSUE

GREEK NIGHTMARE
The prison camps ....p. 5
RIGHT TO TRAVEL
New passport rules ....p. 3
SOVIET ARMS CUT
How West reacted ....p. 6
SIDNEY ROGER
First 15 years ....p. 12
ADLAI & HUMMUN
Talmadge approves ....p. 3

CYPRUS TO KENYA TO ADEN

The bloody fall of Empire

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WITH MOST of their colonial domain already washed away like sand before the tides of nationalism, the British ruling class are giving one last bloody and pitiful demonstration of the fact that imperialists never learn. The weekend of May 10-14 might be used as an example by chroniclers of the decline and fall of the British Empire.

As dawn broke May 10 in Cyprus, the 500,000-population Mediterranean island which Britain "needs" for its "oil lifeline to the Middle East" (i. e., to avert the disaster of having to buy oil in the open market), a mother kept vigil outside a prison. She had wired to the British Queen, "as a mother," to spare the life of her 23-year-old son who was charged with killing a policeman of the imperial power. She knew the plea had failed when the sound of many voices from inside the prison, shouting the protests of hundreds of jailed Cypriots and their determination to win freedom, told her the neck of her patriot son had been broken.

GUNS AT NINE FEET: In Kokkinotrimithia concentration camp the prisoners began a hunger-strike in protest against the two hangings that day. The whole island went into mourning and the streets of every town were patrolled by British troops, covered by Sten gunners, at intervals of nine feet. The Cypriot resistance executed two captured British soldiers in reprisal.

In Athens three were killed and 291 injured in clashes between armed police and thousands of young Greeks who burned the British flag, cried "Death to Harding!" (British Governor of Cyprus), and smashed American official windows. The newspaper **Kathimerini**, close to the Greek government, said that as a result of the Cyprus hangings "a century-long page of friendship [with Britain] will definitely be closed. An unbridgable gap of hatred will separate the two peoples instead." The demonstrators' banners

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAIL BAG

Ghastly coincidence

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Last week the N.Y. Friends Center had a reception for the 25 Hiroshima girls who have been guests of Quaker families for the past year, during their treatment in Mt. Sinai Hospital. Each girl has had approximately five operations; one has had seven—her arm was attached to her face for six months. The girls have been most appreciative of being cared for here, far away from Hiroshima where many still are dying from the effects of the A-bomb dropped on Aug. 6, 1945. They were called real ambassadors of good will and should alleviate some of the anti-American feeling in Japan when they return.

It was, of course, a pure coincidence that the reception took place on the same day when, on the Bikini Atoll, 2,000 miles from Hiroshima, an H-bomb should have been dropped 2,000 times as strong as the Hiroshima bomb, and when the Japanese press expressed the firm conviction that all such tests should end.

John H. Beck

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Comment by Republican candidate defeated by Democrat in Indianapolis election last fall:

"I and every member of the Republican effort to retain honesty and decency in government can only say that the failure of the good people of Indianapolis to register their vote today is clear-cut evidence of the fact that you can sulk your way to socialism."

Indianapolis Star, Nov. 5, 1955

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: B. B. M., Indianapolis, Ind. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Monstrous deeds

ASHEVILLE, N.C.

It is no use for us to take the attitude that we are living in a "world we did not make." Somehow, we must all find a way to remake it! The German people claim they did not know of the crimes committed by the Nazis. We Americans say that we did not know that atom bombs were going to be dropped on civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But we have been told about the thermonuclear explosions in the Pacific area—the most monstrous and destructive deeds conceived by the mind of man! Who knows where or when the malign effects will end?

The Russians have also made such experiments—but at least they have not come clear across the world in some one else's territory to set off such hideous destruction.

It is our sacred trust under the UN Charter to protect the health of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories. Due to an unexpected shift in the winds during the 1954 thermonuclear tests, 236 Marshallese were subjected to radiation. Many of them still suffer from burns, low blood count, nausea, and loss of hair. They have been deprived of their ancestral lands. Bikini natives have been removed to Kili where there is no fishing for seven months of the year. Kili is now called the "island of hungry people", and who but the starving would dare eat the fish after more hydrogen explosions?

NOTICE

The new address of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is 197 E. Fourth St., New York 9, New York. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800. However, all mail addressed to us at 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, will be forwarded to our new address promptly.

Millions of Japanese signed petitions to halt thermonuclear tests in the Pacific area. These bring back the fear and horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with the resulting bitter hatred for the U.S. The Japanese largely depend on fishing for their economy.

Billions of tons of pulverized matter thrown into the air from the explosions are the cause of the disastrous blizzards, hurricanes, dust storms and floods (even from usually calm rivers). Dr. Linus Pauling states that the nuclear experiments that have been made in our own Southwest have already shortened the lives of Americans by several years. The most dire predictions have been made by authorities on the subject as to the malign effects on genetics.

Setting off more thermonuclear tests is exploding such a geyser of world hatred against the U.S. that no pacts, military alliances, nor promises of economic help can ever eradicate.

Margaret McCauley

Paxophobia

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On May 14 the stock market dropped 1 to 5 points in the closing hour of trading. The N.Y. **Times** of the following morning, taking note of the financial convulsion, said that "some brokers ascribed the . . . break to word that the Soviet Union was cutting its armed forces by 1,200,000 men." At the same time Washington was giving ample evidence of having been thrown into a dither of multiple anxieties by the same unequivocal Russian peace move.

There is an unmistakable need for a word to describe the condition underlying these reactions. What we have here is a morbid fear of peace, which has become chronic in both Wall Street and Washington, and in many quarters which look to these places for omens and auguries to chart their courses of action. The word I have used privately for some time is Paxophobia, which describes exactly what is ailing the captains of industry, finance and politics who now guide our nation's and much of the world's destinies.

Edward Schindeler

Housecleaning

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

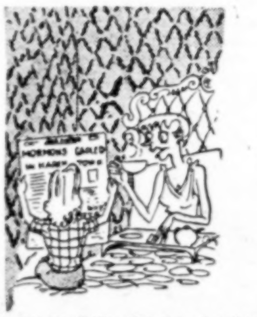
In response to Ellen Davidson's letter (May 7):

Bless you, Sister Ellen Davidson, women in the U.S. who are really doing something need no defense. Actions speak louder than anybody's words. But there are 77 million women in the U.S. who pay taxes in some form. What kind of representation do they have? Compare our country with any other country which has any form of representative government. Of course there are those who must work incessantly "to keep the family in food, let alone decrepit housing." Should the remaining millions of women be indifferent to the fact right at their doorstep?

Nor can we conveniently draw a color line here. Negro newspapers are easily available and the latest report on the Negro market reveals the tremendous buying power of Negroes in the U.S. Ours is the richest, best housed and most widely advertised country in the world and our population consists of more women than men.

Let's face it, girls, we could do a powerful job of housecleaning if we'd just roll up our sleeves and get busy!

Shirley Graham



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Well you see, darling, the difference is that Uncle Theo wasn't married to Aunt Daphne, Aunt Therese, Aunt Lulu and Aunt Sadie all at the same time!"

Cheers

TUCSON, ARIZ.

Cheers for Eugene Gordon's recent articles—and especially for Mike Gold's reply to Faulkner.

Clyde R. Appleton

Arab-Israel relations

MONTREAL, QUE.

In the GUARDIAN of April 30, Kumar Goshal quotes with approval Joseph Alsop's analysis of what is wrong in the Middle East. Goshal's and Alsop's contention is that the primary reason for Middle East unrest is not Arab-Israel relations but the upsurgence of Arab nationalism which cannot be denied its role, but is being denied it by the West.

I am not disputing the fact of growth of Arab nationalism and its potential benefits, but I definitely want to challenge the opinion that Arab-Israel relations are but secondary in importance. From our side of the ocean all dyed-in-the-wool cosmopolitans love to feel that at last the Arab peoples are throwing off their imperialist chains and claiming their rights and privileges. They desperately want to believe that Syria, Egypt, Saudia Arabia are now on the path of progressive developments. This is a myopic view whereby a temporary, superficially progressive foreign policy pulls the wool over the cosmopolitan's vision of the basically reactionary domestic policies of these countries. Saudi Arabia, ruled by a Divine Monarch with absolute powers, allows slavery in the 20th Century while the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. curry her favor. Egypt has a totalitarian military clique dictating to a feudal nation.

Israel, which is a pilot plant of socialist democracy, surpassing most of the nations of the world, which has no Smith Act or political police of the Beria vintage, finds herself out in the cold in the unprincipled game of power politics. Even Peron built and Franco builds dams and industrial plants. Does this make them progressive leaders? Woe to the progressive movement if greater sense cannot be made!

G. Glazer

GUARDIAN articles which have noted the rise of nationalist movements in Asian and African nations have pointed out the reactionary character of the governments of some of these nations. But they have noted also that the movements are directed not only against foreign exploiters, but against the rulers who are kept in power by the money of the exploiters. —EDITOR.

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REPORT TO READERS

Tongues of fire

ON WHITSUNDAY, the seventh Sunday after Easter, Christians commemorate the return of Jesus at the first Pentecost after the Crucifixion.

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it set upon each of them.

ON THIS WHITSUNDAY, a far greater number than awaited the coming of Christ gathered with one accord in one place—the flag bridge of the U.S.S. Mount McKinley—and awaited the dropping of the U.S. H-bomb from an aircraft over Bikini atoll. The N.Y. **Times'** William L. Laurence, who has witnessed atomic explosions since the first test-bomb at Alamagordo in 1945, described the Whitsunday explosion this way:

"The fireball reached a diameter of at least four miles . . . From a distance of 40 miles, its luminosity exceeded 500 suns . . . Behind it, after less than a second, came a giant pillar of fire that rose from the ground below.

"The fire pillar and the fireball kept climbing at an incredible speed. Then, as suddenly as it had appeared the pillar of fire vanished behind the clouds. At the same time the fireball grew dimmer until it also was no longer visible to the eye . . .

"It was as if one were experiencing a nightmare with wide open eyes in broad daylight."

THUS, ON WHITSUNDAY 1956, the West demonstrated to the East (as the East demonstrated to the West on the eve of last Thanksgiving) that an H-bomb with an explosive yield in the many megatons (equivalent of 1,000,000 tons of TNT) could be delivered by aircraft. A Protestant chaplain spoke a prayer into the Mount McKinley's loudspeaker system as the B-52 bearing the Whitsunday bomb neared its target:

". . . Help us, oh Lord, to uphold the hands of those in the land and all brethren throughout the world who by night and day diligently seek the paths of peace in a tangled and confused world."

PITY THE PARSON with the Whitsunday assignment of asking the Lord's blessing on an infernal machine capable of generating a destructive heat 1,000 or more megadegrees hotter than Hell, by all accounts.

What the Mount McKinley's parson said was probably as helpful as could be expected under the circumstances. He seemed to be looking the other way, like any sensible soul expecting the flash of 500 suns, and imploring you and us to not just sit there, but do something!

Every diligent seeker after peace needs to get cracking, now, at any rate (whether that is what the Whitsunday bomb-day prayer meant or not), and pin down every 1956 presidential and congressional candidate on the question of disarmament now, including A-bombs, H-bombs and all (see P. 6).

No candidate is entitled to your effort or vote who doesn't come clean on the question of ending the rule of the military mind in our land, and removing from the backs of the American public the high cost of un-Jesusly fireworks like last Sunday's Hell-bomb.

—THE GUARDIAN

SENATOR TALMADGE COMING UP

The South prefers Adlai; Dixiecrat bolt looks dim

ADLAI STEVENSON AND HERMAN TALMADGE
The serpent once whispered in the ear of Eve . . . .

By Elmer Bendiner

THE UNRECONSTRUCTED Southern politicians had charted their course: It looked as if they would not bolt and form a Dixiecrat party nor demand an out-and-out Confederate as a standard bearer. The Democratic Party and Adlai Stevenson, it seemed, would do nicely.

The end of the Dixiecrat movement and fresh hope for Stevenson were signaled by the rising stock of two men: Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas and ex-Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia.

In a special primary vote deciding who would head the 56-vote Texas delegation at the convention, Johnson buried Gov. Allan Shivers in a landslide. Shivers has been the leading Democrat-for-Eisenhower, a bitter anti-Stevenson man and the brightest hope of Dixiecrat bolters. In the bitterly fought campaign Shivers charged that Johnson was fellow-traveler of the NAACP and Walter Reuther. When the results were in Shivers said he was beaten by union votes.

THE MAN JOHNSON: Johnson is a skillful manipulator in the Senate who strives for smooth bi-partisanship, greasing the skids before each crucial Senate vote, smoothing ruffled colleagues with considerable charm. He has charmed labor leaders out of their fight for a $1.25 minimum wage, and still held their friendship. Last summer the Americans for Democratic Action, sizing up Johnson's record, found he had joined in the Republican "attack on liberalism," but still he remained a friend of former ADA chairman Sen. Hubert Humphrey. He is the political protege of the far-right Virginian Sen. Harry Byrd and he calls Georgia's Sen. Russell his "mentor."

Johnson is above all, an organization man who will stick to the Democrats. He would probably be Presidential timber if he were not himself the victim of a heart attack, a circumstance which rules him out because it would rob the Democrats of their central issue in the campaign: the President's health. Johnson has been masterminding the Solid South's strategy for almost a year from his LBJ ranch in Texas. Stevenson made his pilgrimage there last fall and reportedly won the blessings of Johnson and House Speaker Sam Rayburn. His clear-cut victory over Shivers makes Johnson a power at the convention and throws that power squarely behind Stevenson.

THE MAN TALMADGE: Stevenson's other boost comes from Georgia where the aging, seasoned Sen. George yielded to the tub-thumping, suspender-snapping, white supremacist Herman Talmadge, whom many call the greatest demagogue since Huey Long.

Talmadge won the Governorship in 1948 after a campaign in which he called for excluding Negroes from the Democratic primaries and stopping all desegrated buses at the borders. He won—thanks to the "wool hats," Georgia backwoods people in sparsely populated counties, which, in the Georgia system of unit voting, count for as much as some of the most populous counties in the state.

HUMMUN'S VIEWS: Gerald L. K. Smith, so far out on the lunatic fringe of the far right that scarcely any national figure will touch him, told the United Press in 1947 that he and Talmadge "plan to continue our fight against Communism and its hand-maiden, mongrelization." Talmadge had agreed that year to speak at a meeting sponsored by Smith's America First Party and arranged by Dr. George Long, brother of the late Louisiana dictator, Huey Long.

Though he has denied any affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan, Talmadge, while governor, sent a wire of sympathy on the death of Samuel Green, the Klan's Imperial Wizard. He saw threats to white supremacy in TV programs which feature Negro and white performers together. He assailed all forms of fair employment legislation and anti-poll tax laws. In 1950 he opposed all state aid to schools, Negro or white, on grounds that it was not time to put "additional handicaps on business, farming and labor."

TALMADGE VS. GEORGE: In 1954 Talmadge declined to run for another term as governor. It was the first time in 16 years that the Georgia primaries did not list a Talmadge as candidate. He was careful to name his successor and Gov. Marvin D. Griffin was elected as "Talmadge's man." Talmadge had his eye on broader horizons. As soon as he was out of office he devoted much of his time to perfecting his organization among the "wool hats" and in the cities, where he assumed a less pungent style of oratory and where he never snapped his suspenders.

If Hummun wanted to be a Senator, he would have to unseat one of the nation's elder statesmen, dean of the Senate, Walter F. George, rounding out 34 years in office. In preparation for the Sept. 12 primaries, tantamount to election in one-party Georgia, Talmadge ridiculed the foreign aid programs with which George had been identified. But for the most part he campaigned as a diehard white supremacist, an issue which Sen. George had scarcely touched on for years. George tried to compete with Talmadge and signed the manifesto of segregationist Southern Senators, but then gave up. Last week, at 78, he indicated he would resign from the Senate at the end of this session. He gave his health as a reason; it was plain that young Hummun and his machine were too much for him.

HE'S FOR ADLAI: Sen. George's resignation leaves Hummun's election to the Senate all but guaranteed. On the NBC-TV program "Meet The Press" May 13, Talmadge was asked how he would carry out his Senatorial oath to support the Constitution, now that the Supreme Court has interpreted it to mean desegregation. Talmadge answered:

"I will be the interpreter as to what that oath means to me. I've got as much right to interpret the Constitution as anyone else in this country. I'll be bound by what Herman Talmadge thinks it means."

He said he didn't think that Gov. Harriman or Sen. Kefauver had much chance of winning the Presidential nomination and declined to say what he would do if either of them were chosen. But when asked what he would do if Stevenson was picked, he said: "I will be for Stevenson." He recalled that Georgia had given Stevenson his greatest percentage vote in 1952.

The Stevenson bandwagon rolled smoothly through the South. North Carolina's Gov. Luther H. Hodges last week had his delegation lined up for Stevenson, and Alabama's Sen. John J. Sparkman, summing up for his 1952 running mate, called Stevenson "by far the outstanding choice of the South."

At least, the lily-white South.

WASHINGTON'S OWN IRON CURTAIN

That new passport question

THE NEW PASSPORT application forms, scheduled for use about July 1, were termed "simply a routine administrative improvement" by passport officials last month. The form asks three new questions: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?. . . . Have you ever been a member? If ever a member, state period of membership."

Miss Frances G. Knight, Passport Office Director, told Anthony Lewis of the N. Y. **Times** (4/29) that at present all applications for passports are checked against "a very voluminous file called the card index—17,000,000 cards, including some duplications." If there is a card for the applicant and it carries any officially recorded doubts about him, the passport probers send for government files from the FBI or other agencies, and then a decision is made, Miss Knight explained. The practice has been to require non-Communist affidavits from persons on any one of the numerous government lists.

ACHESON TO EASTLAND: The Passport Office's legal experts claim that the original ruling that no passports be issued to CP members or "persons under its domination" came from Dean Acheson when he was President Truman's Secretary of State.

The plan to include the new questions in revised passport application forms came originally from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1951, the **Times** reported. Last summer Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), subcommittee chairman, wrote to the State Dept. asking why nothing had come of the idea.

Miss Knight said the change would meet protests from those suspected applicants who were made to sign affidavits. "Now we're not picking on anyone," she said. A departmental aide added: "This means everybody is in the same class."

The legal basis for the new forms, as well as for the current affidavit requirements, are being challenged in the courts by Paul Robeson, attorney Leonard Boudin and others who maintain that every citizen has the right to travel and hence the right to a passport which makes travel possible. If the courts rule favorably on these cases, or if the Supreme Court finds unconstitutional the Internal Security Act, the new forms will have to be discarded.

PRINCIPLE AND AGE: Meanwhile many passport applicants are expected to refuse to answer the political questionnaire. Miss Knight said she expected that some would balk on principle; she classed such persons with "women who won't tell us their age." Officials said such applicants would be closely checked but might "conceivably" get a passport if the Department found their refusal to answer was solely on grounds of principle.

Those who say on the forms that they are present CP members will be automatically denied a passport. Anyone who says he is not now but at one time has been, will have "to show us that he had made a bona fide break, that he was no longer under Communist discipline," Miss Knight said.

Washington has received many protests on the new forms. Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.) said he had "serious doubts about [the questions'] propriety, necessity, wisdom or advisability."

DR. NATHAN'S VIEWS: Dr. Otto Nathan, distinguished economist who recently took the State Dept. to court and forced it to grant him his passport, wrote in a letter to the **Times** (5/6) that the State Dept. had gone beyond even the Internal Security Act of 1950 which relates only to present, not past members of the CP and requires no oaths. Nathan said:

"Congress, of course, never intended to compel hundreds of thousands of citizens to make sworn statements about their political beliefs as a condition to a passport. It would upset our traditional Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence to shift the burden of proof to the applicant by requiring him to take a test oath. . . . Politics is simply not relevant to travel which, as the Court of Appeals stated, is a natural right for American citizens. . . .

"The time has long since come for the Judiciary Committees of Congress to start a thorough investigation into the whole passport problem since the Secretary of State, who is a lawyer himself, does not seem to pay our courts the respect which is due them."

Now before the House Judiciary Committee is a bill by Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) which would authorize the State Dept. to set political tests for passport applicants. At a hearing on the bill last week Walter made it clear the purpose was to counter recent judicial decisions insisting that passport applicants not be denied without a "due process hearing." Walter said it might not be necessary, "if we didn't have all these ADA judges." (ADA stands for Americans For Democratic Action.) Scott McLeod, speaking for the State Dept., supported the Walter bill.

Letters to Congressmen urging them to kill the measure if it is reported out, would be one way to hold back the iron curtain.

Freedom to Travel

"FREEDOM TO TRAVEL"
This was the theme of Rockwell Kent's recent exhibition. Kent is also fighting for his passport.

Coe jolts probers

(Continued from Page 1)

Congressional committees, Coe has stood upon his constitutional right of silence in response to questions concerning espionage. This time he threw the committee off balance in a forthright statement—which he made public—in which he said:

"This committee has announced that it is continuing to investigate the late Harry White [former top Treasury official under whom Coe worked], myself and others. I want the record to contain the following:

"This is no investigation; it is an attempt to keep alive the stale and discredited charges of Elizabeth Bentley. The FBI has been investigating White and his associates for 15 years at least, grand juries for nine years, and congressional committees—about 20—have been so occupied for eight years. This particular subcommittee has devoted six years to the matter. In every election year since 1948 these 'investigations' have become feverish.

"CHARGES ARE FALSE": "But none of the 80-odd persons investigated following their being named as spies by Elizabeth Bentley has ever been convicted or tried or indicted for espionage.

"Why? because the charges are false, and known to this subcommittee to be false. I wish to drop the protection of the Fifth Amendment and to state for the record:

"I was never a spy.

"I am convinced that Harry White was not a spy, and that any notion to the contrary is unthinkable.

"I am also convinced that none of the other persons named by Bentley were spies.

"[Atty. Gen.] Brownell, [FBI Director] Hoover, and [Sen.] Jenner as chairman of this subcommittee, betrayed their offices when they announced that White and myself were spies. That was in 1953. How dared they brand us criminals when we have never been convicted of crime? How could they even presume to know the truth of what they said?

BROWNELL'S "CONTEMPT": "We have never received a trial of any sort. Yet these men who occupied three of the highest legal positions in our government staged a hearing at which they 'convicted' me, as well as numerous other people, of a heinous crime. Brownell, our chief law enforcement officer, thus showed his complete contempt for the laws of the land. No other attorney general in our history has been so arrogant . . .

"This subcommittee should retract its false charges against White, myself and others. That would be simple decency. It would not repair the damage already done, but it would help to restore confidence in our public officials."

ONE HOUR IN PUBLIC: There was no retraction. But this tough statement, followed by equally tough testimony, drastically altered the committee's schedule. It had planned, after the usual questioning in a closed session, to put Coe on the stand in public hearings for at least a day and a half. Actually it excused him after about an hour of public questioning; he complained that he didn't even get his day in court.

In the second closed session, the committee set out to "prove" once more that the U.S. "lost" China to the Chinese because of the policies of White, Coe and others. Point by point, Coe cited the record to show the falsity of this claim; the more he talked, the more disinterested the investigators became. Coe now has challenged the committee to make public the transcript of the closed session but thinks it unlikely that it will because it will be "too uncomfortable to the China Lobby."

QUIZZERS CHALLENGED: In the public session Coe was asked about his role in the Monetary Fund; he challenged his questioners to go to the source—the records of the Fund itself—to verify his answers. He pointed out that there is a U.S. director of the Fund who has access to all documents and records who could easily be questioned.

FRANK COE
There's a time to speak

For the investigators, Coe was a troublesome witness and when they dismissed him it was as though—as Coe put it—they felt: "For God's sake, let's get him off the stand before he louses up our record."

But it is still five months to election day and there is no indication that the spy-hunters will give up hunting spies.

Fall of Empire

(Continued from Page 1)

said: "Greece must leave NATO."

THEY LAUGHED: The British people showed widespread shame and anger at what had been done in their name. In the House of Lords, Lord Stansgate asked if the government believed Harding's policy of violence would bring peace to Cyprus; there was no reply. In Commons, Labourite Fenner Brockway had tried to bring up the hangings just before they occurred; he was told the rules did not permit discussion of "the fate of men sentenced to death," but there could be a debate after they were dead. (There was, on the 14th; when Labourites urged that Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios be brought back from exile as the only alternative to an unending sacrifice of Cypriot and British lives. Conservatives laughed.)

The Liberal **News Chronicle** said the government had not "a single correct political act to its credit" on Cyprus. Labour's **Daily Herald**, calling it "a shameful day" when "the hangman's noose becomes the symbol of British policy," said "there is revulsion against us throughout the civilized world."

SAVE THE LADS: Beneath Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square, 5,000 people—mainly Cypriot and other Londoners, including a number of young conscripts in uniform, but with a scattering of Africans, Indians and even Americans—gathered May 13 at a demonstration called by Brockway's Movement for Colonial Freedom. Four MP's spoke in English and a Cypriot businessman in Greek, and a petition was circulated by Greek-costumed girls calling for Makarios's return, closing of concentration camps, ending of "collective punishments" and release of political prisoners held without charge or trial. Women dressed in black held up a banner: "Cypriot Women's League appeals to you to save British and Cypriot lads."

The older people in the crowd remembered similar meetings there over the years protesting similar futile violence in Ireland, India and Palestine. The voices from offstage were familiar too: blond Aryan types circling the square in loudspeaker cars, shouting about "communist terror." They were from the League of Empire Loyalists and invited Greek Cypriots to "go back to Greece if they're not satisfied with Cyprus." (Greek civilization was rooted in Cpyrus when Britons were still living in caves wearing skins and woad.) They concentrated their fire on Brockway, "fellow-traveler with the Mau-Mau."

IN SORROW AND ANGER: A PLAQUE IS SMASHED
A chapel dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in Greece is renamed

CAMPS IN KENYA: Brockway, anti-Communist and pacifist, had invited MP's and newspapermen to a House of Commons meeting May 10 to hear an account of life in Kenya by Eileen Fletcher, just back from a job as "rehabilitation officer" in Mau Mau detention camps. Miss Fletcher quoted Kenya government officials of the humane type, who exist here and there, as calling Britishers sent to command these camps "thugs," "subhuman," "absolutely bottom of the barrel."

She described camps where men, women and children, mass-arrested because they belong to certain tribes and so "might be Mau Mau," are jammed together under worse conditions than in "places where animals are loaded for the slaughterhouse." Babies are left without care or food while their mothers are driven out to hard labor; boys under eight are beaten or sent in shackles to work in quarries, and clothing and blankets confiscated in mid-winter; prisoners are softened up for "screening" by shutting them in cells for 10 days with dangerous lunatics.

Miss Fletcher spoke of a girl of 11 given seven years' hard labor, of 11- and 12-year-old "lifers" in one camp whose "main purpose is to accommodate hard-core males," of a 15-year-old girl given 12 years for "taking oaths." In one camp where 5,300 people are crowded into 19 acres, the inmates' work is excavating and laying stone for a seven-square-mile airport; 600 of the inmates are attending hospital for skin diseases.

NOT IN THE TALLY: In a typical "new village" set up for "security," there are 800 people with no sanitary arrangements at all: "they can make a hole and cover it up," the District Officer told Miss Fletcher. Between August and November, 45 children of mothers driven out to work daily from dawn to dusk died there of malnutrition: Kenya's Health Minister ascribed it to "the ignorance of mothers who did not realize the value of proteins." In one such village, totally lacking sanitary arrangements, a 24-hour curfew was imposed for two weeks; 70 died of typhus during that time.

The thousands of deaths brought about by such means are not included in British Colonial Office tallies, which proclaim 800 executions to date of Kikuyu tribesmen in Kenya. Sensitive and humanitarian Britons like Brockway are proud to be called "Mau Mau fellow-travelers" by Empire Loyalists if that is the right name for those protesting. In their speeches they lay great stress on "British moral values" which they want to preserve. They feel that at least Britain is behaving less badly than France with its vast and systematic massacres of Africans in Algeria and Morocco. But their main point is that it is idle and shameful to condemn Africans or Cypriots for resorting to violence while—as Lena Jeger MP said in Trafalgar Square—"they are offered no possible alternative to violence."

A VISIT TO ADEN: Meanwhile in Aden, Britain's colony on the southern tip of Arabia, Governor Sir Tom Hickinbotham prepared on May 10 to welcome Lord Lloyd, Parliamentary Undersecy. for the Colonies. He declared his "fixed intention to maintain law and order" on this occasion (**Daily Telegraph**). On May 12, as His Lordship's plane winged its way from Britain, buses toured Aden's streets offering free rides to the airport to "demonstrate against British imperialism." A thousand Arabs accepted, and the plane landed amid a babel of jeers, insults, expectorations in white faces, and cries of "Get out, go home, we want no English here."

The good Lord climbed with the Governor into a car which moved off swiftly but was forced to a standstill by unwilling subjects of Her Majesty, waving "Down with the British, Allah is great!" banners and yelling: "Get out! Away with imperialism! Your blood will flow!" An Arab who works for the British as head of Aden broadcasting narrowly escaped being lynched; the **Daily Express** reported: "Not one policeman interfered as the mob shouted 'Kill him!' " and began beating him up.

EVENTS IN ATHENS: That evening 24 Arab nationalist leaders in Aden were arrested as Cairo radio praised the Adenites' "worthy show of resistance to imperialism." The lion had roared and imperial lifelines were safe; or were they? From Yemen, Arabia, it was announced that the Crown Prince was off to Moscow this month to conclude a friendship and trade treaty with the Bolsheviki. And in Greece, the week-end concluded with two ceremonies: the smashing by the Mayor of Kokkinia of a marble plaque unveiled when Britain's Queen visited Athens in 1950, and the greeting of President Heuss and Foreign Minister von Brentano from Britain's great trade rival W. Germany.

The state visit, said the Greeks according to the London **Times**, "could not have been better timed." Said the Athens **Tolmi**: "We Greeks, stunned by the blows, insults and humiliations of the Anglo-Americans whom we had trusted and for whom we had suffered so much, now discover that in spite of all, you [the Germans] are the best."

In the British Embassy in Athens, Ambassador Sir Charles Peake was "now so isolated" that he pondered whether he would "desert on leave shortly" (**Observer**, (5/13). He was irritated and frustrated by the banners constantly waving outside his window since the Cypriot youths were hanged: "Break off relations with Britain!", "Peake must go!"

HOW CAN WE END THE PRISONERS' HELL?

Greece: A nightmare persists

Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

VISIT GREECE, the "tourist's paradise," the travel agencies tell you. You will enjoy its modern and ancient cities, "its enchanting islands, its folksongs, its carefree gayety."

Visit Greece. The tourist will find all the charm and beauty of the past intact. Spring and summer will be glorious.

Really, little has changed in Greece —and especially not the conditions in the prisons and island death camps (see GUARDIAN, 2/20). If anything, they have worsened, for last winter's abnormal cold wrecked the health of the prisoners.

The 3,000 women in the political jails of Athens suffered atrociously in their unheated cells; so did the thousands of male prisoners on Youra, Ai Stratis, Crete, Corfu and other storm-lashed island concentration camps. For weeks on end these prisons could not be reached by boat, all supplies were cut off and conditions of near-starvation prevailed. Now the torrid Greek summer is at hand. Weakened by the winter, many will not survive the four broiling months ahead, locked up 17 hours out of 24 in over-crowded, hermetically sealed cells.

WINDOWS OF ZINC: Dismayed at the thought that spring might bring momentary relief, the Karamanlis government last month decided to substitute sheets of zinc for windows, thereby preventing fresh air from reaching the prisoners, many afflicted by pulmonary and other diseases. A secondary purpose may have been to shut off the prisoners from all contact with the outside world, preventing their screams from reaching the ears of stray American tourists wandering in the vicinity of the jails!

On April 4, when workers arrived with the zinc sheets, the prisoners refused to evacuate their cells. Embarking on a hunger strike, they demanded to see the cabinet minister responsible for the decision. An inspector named Mathioudakis, accompanied by armed guards, arrived in Averoff prison to inform the prisoners that they couldn't see the minister. Told that the prison physician had declared that zinc sheets would perilously diminish the already insufficient ventilation, and further impair their precarious health, Mathioudakis cynically replied:

"If the prison doctor says that your ventilation is insufficient, then I'll replace him with another physician."

WHIPS DON'T WORK: The islands' prison camps are worse than the prisons in Athens because of their inaccessibility. Few voices reach the mainland, fewer still penetrate the world. Among the brave voices crying out from the islands is that of Dr. Stathis Kannavos. From the living hell of his jail on Corfu, he calls out to the physicians of the world to heed his words, to act before those who share his martyrdom have died or contracted incurable diseases.

"We receive only 1,500 calories per day," he writes, "no fruit, no protein. Young as well as old have lost their teeth, and the majority of us have defective eyesight. We are so feeble that many of us can not stand up, however viciously the guards whip us while driving us to the work quarries. Last winter was the most rigorous of the 20th century, and in our unheated tombs all of us contracted illnesses, many of us consumptive complaints.

"We dread the searing summer days as much as we did the blistering winter nights. No wonder! In cells three yards square three prisoners are locked up 17 hours out of the 24. Last summer, as a punishment, 500 prisoners were locked in **22 hours a day for 70 days,** the sick as well as the healthy, without proper latrines or means to clean their cells or themselves. As the majority of us are completing our 12th year of jail, our health, mental and physical, will scarcely support another such summer, or a winter like the last. If you mean to help us, to call attention to our desperate plight, do it now! We, the prisoners of Corfu, can not wait!"

A SENTRY LOOKS OVER A TROUBLED LAND

On Mount Likebetos overlooking the city of Athens

LETTER IN A BOTTLE: "I am putting four copies of my letter in four bottles. I shall throw them in the sea, hoping that waves will carry them to some friendly shore," writes the famous Greek author, Themos Cornaros, from the island of Ai Stratis, where 1,000 prisoners daily battle against death. His hope was fulfilled and we are able to read of what happened last winter on his prison island:

"In the blinding snow storms the almost naked prisoners fought like maniacs to keep their tents from being blown away. Their strength was too small; the filthy ragged tents which were their only 'homes' were carried out to sea, and as the exhausted, shivering men fell to the frozen ground, they did not have to wish for death to come; it came, uninvited, to many in those days."

Cornaros pleads with mankind to come to the aid of the desperately sick and the near-insane for, he says: "It will be too heavy a burden for you to carry a thousand corpses on your conscience!" His cry is directed to "everyone who is not locked up in prison and who has a **heart and a voice.**"

"If men fail to come to the help of their fellow-beings," Cornaros says, "mankind as a whole will become like beasts running around on all fours, grazing without a thought for their neighbour. And that is an idea too horrible to contemplate." He begs us "not to hesitate, not to let political, racial or religious differences prevent us from acting together to save thousands of valuable human lives."

WHAT TO DO: Whether despairing Greek voices reach us in the form of embottled letters or in a less spectacular manner, they all tell us what to do. We must knock on the doors of those who have authority and power; we must act rapidly. Let the Greek authorities open their prisons and concentration camps to international inspection committees so that people may see for themselves the inhuman conditions that prevail there.

We are asked further to write letters, to draw up petitions, to arrange protest meetings. Public opinion must be alerted that there exists in today's Greece conditions that existed in the Nazi death camps. Quoting again the words of Cornaros, himself critically ill and subject to constant mistreatment because of his courageous attempt to communicate with the outside world:

"Of all the beasts, only the viper refrains from coming to the aid of its fellow creatures threatened by danger or extermination. Those of you who remain indifferent while your martyred fellow beings are slowly murdered, carry the stink of the viper."

THE TRUE COLOR: The travel pamphlets, offered free of charge, are bright with Greece's "flaming colors"; but these are not the colors of Greece today. It is the drab grey of the prisoners' rags, of their filthy, torn tents, and of their final shrouds. Although the brochures speak enthusiastically of Greek folk music, it is the prison songs which best represent Greek "national" music.

The tourist's paradise is the Greek prisoner's Hell!

E. T.

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The GUARDIAN suggests that messages of protest be directed to the UN Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, N.Y.; to Premier Karamanlis in Athens, Greece, or to the Ambassador of Greece, Washington, D.C.

THE CASE OF PAUL PASCHALIDIS

Greek seamen's leader ordered deported to a ghastly ordeal

IN 1948 SEAMAN Paul Paschalidis came off his ship in Norfolk, Va., a sick man. He checked in at the Marine Hospital and stayed there for three weeks. When he came out, he took a look at the country and settled down. He married an American and in time they had a boy and then a girl.

Last week Paul Paschalidis faced imminent separation from his family and deportation to Greece with a likely fate of torture, imprisonment or death.

Paschalidis first came into contact with the Dept. of Immigration in 1950 when he tried to legalize his entry into the country. He had several hearings, was ordered deported and appealed that order. After that he heard nothing from the Department. His appeal was never ruled on and Paschalidis went about his job as an electrician.

A DIFFERENT NOTE: On March 26, 1956, Paschalidis was called for a new hearing by the Department. It was not a response to his appeal five years earlier but a completely new proceeding. This time, unlike his first hearing, the questions were mainly political. They wanted to know his beliefs, affiliations, the people he knew.

The reason for the change was that Paschalidis had become known as an active member of the Fedn. of Greek Maritime Unions. The FGMU, outlawed by the Greek government in 1948, still includes two thirds of the seamen of Greece's extensive merchant fleet, the third largest in the world.

FGMU officials for many years functioned smoothly in U.S. ports, pressing the demands of Greek seamen who are notoriously underpaid. The FGMU charges that the ship-owners, working closely with the Dept. of Immigration, have set up a blacklist. Active union men are spotted by the shipowners and immediately thereafter the Department moves in. Immigration agents used to stand outside union meetings, officials say, spotting the men and waiting to pick them up.

THERE ARE PRECEDENTS: Seamen deported to Greece are known to have ended in prison but little has been heard of most of them. The FGMU secretary in Greece was sentenced to death in 1951 and only after world protest was his sentence commuted to life imprisonment Another official was held for two and a half years without trial, tortured brutally, then released.

When Paschalidis was picked up in March he was secretary of the American division of the FGMU. When Immigration inspectors hammered at his political and union affiliations, he refused to answer because his appeal from the 1951 deportation order had never been answered. He also cited the Fifth Amendment.

He was ordered deported, freed in $5,000 bail but confined to within 50 miles of Times Sq. and subjected to all the restrictions of people under supervisory parole.

A HASTY WIRE: His appeal was heard and last week, in uncommon haste, the Departmental Appeals Board wired him its verdict upholding the deportation. The Appeals Board almost invariably upholds departmental rulings but usually the answer is sent, in no particular rush, by ordinary mail. The telegram sparked fears that efforts might be made to pick up Paschalidis and put him aboard a ship to Greece before further efforts can be made in his behalf.

Attorney Ira Gollobin earlier had started separate proceedings asking a review of the case in view of the almost certain persecution awaiting Paschalidis in his native country. A hearing on that motion was scheduled for May 22.

WASHINGTON IS GLOOMY

West varies in reaction to new Soviet arms cut

By Kumar Goshal

THE SOVIET ANNOUNCEMENT on May 14 of a drastic cut in its armed forces and armaments—issued after the unsuccessful London disarmament conference—threw Washington and its NATO allies into confusion and created a sharp break in Wall Street, caused by fears of a reduction in U. S. military expenditure.

Market Breaks As Russia Plans Troop Cutbacks

N.Y. Herald Tribune, May 15, 1956

As a "contribution toward the cause of disarmament and the safeguarding of peace," Moscow said it would reduce its army, air and naval forces within a year by 1,200,000 men, in addition to the reduction of 640,000 men carried out in 1955; put into mothballs 375 warships; and close some military schools and reduce armaments and military equipment as well as the Soviet military budget. The demobilized men were assured jobs in industry and agriculture. Moreover, the Soviet Union declared it would consider further reductions if the Western powers reciprocated proportionately.

The Moscow announcement should have come as no surprise to Washington and its allies. At a party at Claridge's in London, Soviet CP secretary Khrushchev had mentioned this possibility to Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower's special representative to the disarmament conference. Newspapermen in the U.S. and abroad and Secy. Dulles himself had anticipated such a move. Yet there was no coordinated response from NATO members.

EUROPEAN REACTION: British Prime Minister Eden said: "We welcome the Russian reduction." He said he hoped "everybody starts to catch this habit."

Fifty-five Labor MPs in a joint declaration hailed the Moscow announcement as a sign "that the challenge of communism is economic, social and political. not military, and that the Soviet Union wants peace as much as any country in the world."

OFFICIAL PARIS was pleased, but Jules Moch, French representative to the disarmament conference, felt it did not relieve conference members of "complicated work toward a disarmament that is general and not partial, multilateral and not unilateral." Canada's Lester Pearson thought it offered a "temptation to weaken NATO."

W. German government officials publicly said the Moscow announcement would not alter their policy of no concessions to the Soviet Union in return for reunification of Germany. "Privately," the N.Y. **Times** reported (5/16), "the men who compose the regime give evidence of being frightened by the scope and speed of the Soviet political offensive."

The **Times** said that "in announcing its own reduction program, the Soviet Union has crushed [Adenauer's] hope to hold a veto over any [preunification] East-West reduction of armament agreement, [and] has swept away the hopes of linking disarmament with [German] reunification."

YES, NO AND MAYBE: Reaction in Washington was contradictory. Defense Secy. Wilson thought the Soviet move was "a step in the right direction," but quickly qualified this by saying that "it alone will probably not appreciably alter Soviet military power, nor . . . disclose what their intentions might be." Sen. George (D-Ga.) warned against discounting the Soviet cut "without careful evaluation," advised "a careful examination, which will take time."

Dulles took a gloomy view of the Soviet arms cut, which would reduce the size of the Soviet army to that of the U.S. He thought that economic problems had necessitated the Soviet demobilization move, that it would make the U.S.S.R. stronger rather than weaker. He announced a "new look" for U. S. armed forces, placing "primary reliance [on] massive retaliation."

A baffled Canadian correspondent asked if it would be fair to conclude that Dulles would feel happier if Moscow kept the 1,200,000 men in its armed forces. "Well, it's a fair conclusion," Dulles replied, "that I would rather have them standing around doing guard duty than making atomic bombs."

"LOUDER THAN WORDS": Put together, the Washington consensus would seem that Moscow doesn't really intend to go through the demobilization; that, if it does, it would be because of a shortage of manpower in Soviet industry and agriculture; that it is really streamlining the armed forces by eliminating large numbers of soldiers using cumbersome, outdated equipment; that this is all propaganda to weaken NATO and precipitate an economic crisis in America, which must be counteracted by increasing rather than decreasing military aid to Washington's allies.

Columnist Max Lerner, no admirer of the Soviet Union, commented (**N.Y. Post,** 5/16): "Never have so many words and so many excuses been used to defend an indefensible position . . . After an unsuccessful disarmament conference at London, the Russians have dared act unilaterally and we have not . . . This time Eisenhower and Dulles cannot accuse them of merely verbal propaganda. This is the propaganda of the deed, which speaks louder than the propaganda of words."

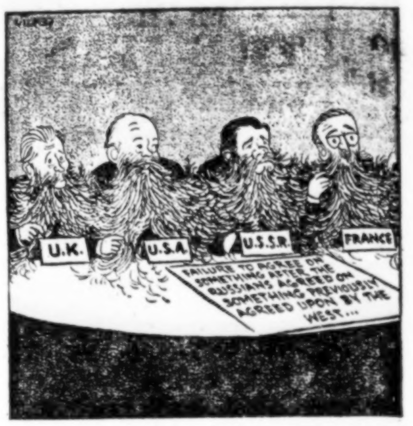
THE EVENTS IN LONDON: The London conference of the UN Disarmament subcommittee, which ended May 4, was doomed to failure when the Western powers introduced new conditions for even any minor agreement.

Soviet delegate Gromyko pointed out at the end of the conference that the Western powers have been constantly shifting their ground, making new conditions as fast as Moscow agreed to Western proposals. The Soviet Union, which has always stood for the total abolition of nuclear weapons, agreed to the Western proposal for conventional disarmament first, with levels of armed forces and inspection systems proposed by Britain and France at Geneva last year. It even "offered to admit inspectors and give them fairly extensive power to verify" armament reduction (**Christian Science Monitor,** 5/15).

After Soviet acceptance of their previous proposals, however, Washington changed its mind about the level of armaments cut, considering it no longer safe to do so "because of far-reaching commitments in Asia, the Middle East and the N. Atlantic Treaty area" (**CSM,** 5/15). The Western powers demanded commitments on nuclear disarmament and solutions for the German reunification problem and Middle Eastern and Far Eastern problems as preconditions for any agreement.

WHAT MAKES FOR TRUST: "It is the U.S. view," Stassen said as the conference ended, "that low force levels and drastic reductions in armaments—even if carried out under an armament agreement—would not, if they were not accompanied by progress in the settlement of major political issues, be in the interests of any country represented at this subcommittee table." The U.S. made its all-embracing demands as necessary to establish mutual trust among nations. Gromyko, on the other hand, pointed out that disarmament agreement on conventional weapons, "even if limited at the beginning . . . would be an important step forward in [the] lessening of international tensions [and] establishing necessary trust in relations between the states."

The real problem the U.S. and its allies faced, London observers remarked, was that acceptance of Soviet disarmament proposals would jeopardize increased Western military appropriations, disintegrate NATO, make U.S. overseas bases surrounding socialist countries untenable, and affect U.S. involvement in Korea, Indo-China and Formosa.


VICKY
U.K.
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FRANCE
FAILURE TO AGREE ON SOMETHING AFTER THE RUSSIANS AGREED ON SOMETHING PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON BY THE WEST...

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"The disarmament discussions are in a certain tangled state . . ."
—*Sir Anthony Eden*

OUT IN THE OPEN: As the last disarmament conference ended in deadlock, the London **New Statesman** said (5/12): "At last the issues can be stated with brutal clarity. The Great Disarmament Lie has been finally exposed. [Moscow] presented a reasonable and workable plan for a substantial reduction of conventional arms. The West has turned down the offer flat . . . Granted nuclear parity, conventional disarmament makes military sense to the Russians; but it plunges the global strategy of the West—[which is] a series of ossified politico-military institutions—into hopeless confusion . . . To western leaders, these institutions cannot be scrapped unless and until the Russians agree to a global package deal. And this the Russians, not unnaturally, refuse to do."

It was generally agreed, however, that the Soviet arms and armaments reductions would have a profound effect on the 12-member UN Disarmament Commission (UN Security Council members plus Canada) session scheduled for June.

Who hired the frogman?

LONDON

SPEAKING IN NOTTINGHAM, England, May 13, Labour MP Konni Zilliacus said "the most likely explanation" of the Frogman Crabb incident was that he "had on this occasion been employed by the U.S. secret service with the complicity of their—and his—contacts in the British secret service."

Zilliacus told the GUARDIAN that he had come to this conclusion because "the flamboyant comic-strip character of the enterprise was much more reminiscent of U.S. methods. Eden obviously didn't know about it and in genuine embarrassment is covering something or somebody up." Zilliacus recalled that one of the figures in the Dides-Baranes "leakages" case that has been rocking France let slip that he had been "working for the Americans," whose interest was to work up a scandal to embarrass the Mendes-France government.

Writing in the **Sunday Express** (5/13), British secret agent Lt.-Col. A. P. Scotland identified Crabb "with certainty" as "a straightforward freelance spy." He said we "need not necessarily assume that Crabb was recalled for an occasional job by some shadowy group in the British Secret Service. For Lionel Crabb was not on recall from the Navy" although he was "undoubtedly in contact with one or two individuals in Naval Intelligence."

C. B.

Curbs on courts

(Continued from Page 1)

Chief Justice a man who had no judicial experience and very little legal experience. . . . His only experience is as a politician. . . ."

Following the hearing, Sen. Eastland announced that as chairman of the full Judiciary Committee he is "going to try to get a bill out as quickly as I can."

BYRNES FOR CURB: Last week another loud voice was raised against the Court. James F. Byrnes, former Governor of South Carolina and himself a one-time Associate Justice, demanded in a widely-quoted article in **U. S. News & World Report** that "the Supreme Court must be curbed." He charged that instead of interpreting the Constitution it had actually amended it and accused the Court of usurpation of power. He wrote:

"The present trend brings joy to Communists and their fellow travelers who want to see all power centered in the Federal Government because they can more easily influence one government in Washington than the 48 governments in 48 states."

He demanded that Congress exercise its constitutional power to "regulate the appellate jurisdiction" of the Supreme Court:

"Power intoxicates men. It is never voluntarily surrendered. It must be taken from them. The Supreme Court must be curbed."

COURT FIRM ON NELSON: Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, commented on this attack:

"It hardly lies in the mouth of former Associate Justice Byrnes to say that the power of the Supreme Court must be curbed. He made no such assertion when he was a member of the Court. He enjoyed the panoply of power when he was a member."

Against all this clamor, the Court itself remained firm and on May 15 refused to reconsider and reverse its ruling in the Nelson case. It had been petitioned to do so by 34 states, Alaska, and Allegheny County, Pa. Massachusetts' Atty. Gen. George Fingold was furious and charged the Court has "aided the Communists of Massachusetts":

"Twelve or 15 indictments will go out the window and Communists are coming out of the woodwork, from under rocks and behind trees."

New Hampshire's Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman was defiant and announced he would continue his one-man probe under the state's sedition law and the State Supreme Court has refused to halt legal action against two witnesses indicted for refusing to answer questions.

BROWNELL IN FAVOR: In Kentucky the case of Carl Braden, sentenced to 15 years under a local sedition law, was still to be disposed of by the State Court of Appeals. Six others, including his wife Anne, who were indicted with him but not tried, were to argue this month for dismissal of the indictments; their trials are scheduled for Nov. 12. Last week the Louisville **Times** editorially endorsed the Supreme Court's Nelson ruling.

But advocates of curbing the Court got the official backing of the Eisenhower Administration on May 17. Deputy Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers wrote to Sen. Eastland on behalf of the government:

"It is the view of the Dept. of Justice that in the fields of sedition and subversion, the Federal and State Governments can work together easily and well, supplementing each other. . . . This legislation [the Bridges bill] would clearly express the Congressional intent that such cooperation between the Federal and State Governments in this field is to be encouraged. The Dept. of Justice favors enactment of the bill."

THE TRUMPET SOUNDS

The meaning of Montgomery

By Eva Grimes

(Last of a series)

MONTGOMERY'S six-month Bus Protest movement demonstrates more clearly than any event in recent American history what can be accomplished by unity of people around a central, pressing issue. As more Americans begin to understand that the 50,000 Black Belt Negroes involved in this fight are trail-blazers along the high road to democracy, more of us will recognize the prime necessity of unity as the best means of guaranteeing and broadening our rights as citizens under our Constitution.

Varied actions around the country in support of Montgomery are clear evidence of this new realization. Speakers from the Alabama city are in demand from Massachusetts to the state of Washington; trade unions and church groups send money and supplies to carry on the good fight, and a widely-circulated daily paper, the **N. Y. Post**, has sent a Negro and one of its top reporters, Ted Poston, to spend several weeks in Montgomery—to live among the people and learn from them what all America needs to know. Montgomery and the lesson it has to teach cannot be understood in haphazard "hot news" fashion; it goes on.

LIFE GOES ON: Every day the Montgomery **Advertiser** prints two pages of "Negro News." Here, through the period of Rev. King's trial and almost three weeks afterward, it was possible to see daily indication of how life does go on in spite of fire, flood, tornado, bus boycott and White Citizens Councils. Here was recorded, day by day, the amazing tenacity of the human being.

Births, deaths, funerals, weddings, conventions, sports, dances, club meetings, outings, Sunday afternoon musical programs and dramatic presentations continue to absorb the interest and energy of this embattled human community. The boycott is just another accepted condition of life—like highway construction that takes place near your house; it causes some confusions and disruptions, but it will be completed. And then there will be a new road to ride. In the meantime, human beings carry on. This might be the biggest lesson that the visitor to Montgomery can hope to absorb: life goes on.

A PORCH AT TWILIGHT: But visits must come to an end; for the visitor, no matter how eagerly or deeply he might seek to penetrate such richness of life, **must** return to his starting place.

On the last night of this particular visit, a group sat in April twilight on a front porch facing a main highway that leads from the great produce markets of Florida, up through Alabama and the South, and finally into New York. There were adults and children. The adults had just returned from one of the bi-weekly mass meetings sponsored by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. They were still chuckling over a story told there by a young minister, Rev. E. J. Fields, who is also an MIA officer.

Rev. Fields had been expressing the gratitude of Montgomery's Negroes for concrete support to their struggle shown by widely varying groups in all sections of the country. He paid special tribute to Birmingham as a sister Alabama city where Negroes in particular could measure completely the scope of Montgomery's Bus Boycott movement. As illustration of his point he told a story:

ONE AND TWENTY: "A Negro got on a bus in Birmingham the other day," he said. "He sat right down in the front seat, even though there were 20 white people riding behind him. Naturally the driver told him to get back, but this cat didn't even move a muscle. Well, the driver kept on driving, then after while he stopped again and told the Negro to move on in the rear; didn't he see them 20 white people sitting there? The cat still **ain't** moved yet. So the driver told him he was going to take him to the law if he didn't go on back. He **still** ain't moved. So the driver **did** drive up to the law and told the law how the Negro wouldn't move back. Then the law looked in the window, seen the Negro in the front and all those 20 white folks sitting behind him, and the law turned to the driver and said:

"Fo' Gawd's sake, man! **Move** them 20 white folks off this bus and **drive** that Negro where he wants to go. We **sho** don't want **no** Montgomerys in Birmingham!"

The group on the porch grew reflective and still after the story had been enjoyed from many different angles (it had threatened to break up the mass meeting). In the green twilight there were a mocking bird's song, falling through the silence like sudden spring rain; the voices of two three-year-olds in earnest babble; the sniffy intake of air from an 80-year-old woman enjoying her snuff; the hum and whir of cargo trucks up and down the highway.

THE SONGS BLEND: A quick whirl of moist wind passed through the old surrounding trees, causing them to turn and yield their branches to the wind's upward motion. One of the women began to hum a spiritual, sung just that night at the mass meeting, and an ancient favorite: **"Steal Away."** The group loosely hummed along with her through the refrain, but when she reached the affirmative statement of the song she articulated the words in a high clear voice that was sister to the mockingbird's. Even the children stopped their sing-song prattle as she told how. . . .

My Lord, he calls me
He calls me by the lightnin . . .
The trumpet sounds
Within-a my soul. . . .

The group hummed the song's refrain then and the woman sang again:

Green trees a-bendin
Poor sinner stands a-tremblin . . .
The trumpet sounds
Within-a my soul. . . .
I ain't got long to stay here.

The future belongs to them

ONE BROWN, ONE WHITE: The children, two little girls, were caught by some beauty and solemnity of the moment. They ran to stand together at the side of the old woman, rocking to the song's rhythm and still dipping her snuff. One little girl was dressed in blue and wore tight-braided pigtails of soft curly hair in an aureole round her head; the other wore pale yellow and her straight-swinging chestnut sheet of hair slanted away from her fair skin as she looked lovingly and trustingly into the old woman's wrinkled black face. The child in the yellow dress was white. Her mother and father were together some place in Virginia. She lived now in Montgomery with her grandmother who had turned her over completely to the care of a Negro woman, friend and neighbor to the group whose house faced the highway.

It was soft and relaxed and gentle there on the porch. No one seemed to be in a hurry to talk. For quite a while there were only three sounds: the mocking bird, the trucks, the patient rhythm of the old woman's rocking chair.

"GOODIER AND GOODIER": Then Pop spoke. He has a record of 30-odd years of working on the railroads as a chef. His father was a railroad worker. To speak to him with any real understanding and sensitivity of the role of railroads in binding this country together and the special part played by the Negro worker in this binding-together, is to elicit poetry and romance.

Pop is a noticer; a carer; a dreamer. In his off-time pastime of fisherman, he is naturalist, geographer, historian and anthropologist. He is also, like E. D. Nixon (longtime fighter for freedom in Montgomery, 30-year railroader and outstanding figure in the Protest Movement), a union man. He had been to the mass meeting, and even more than the story about the Birmingham bus conflict, he seemed drawn to a remark made by MIA's Rev. Abernathy: "As long as we just stick together things are going to get goodier and goodier."

Pop's voice was Alabama slow and easy as he said: "This thing we're doin here, it's the best thing the Negro has done for **himself** in a long time. But there's a whole lot more we need. We need the white people in the country to see what's happening. There's all kinds of change going on. Now you just take Alabama, right **here.** Look out on that highway at them trucks. This is a growin state. This is right where the Alabama Power and Gas is located. I go to fish out there in Wetumpka backwater where **they** built all those locks and dams. For what? For power, that's what.

GETTING BUILT UP: "Now you just look at those trucks go by here carryin cattle from Alabama to the market. **That's** a growing industry here. So's the lumber and the paper industry. And steel. And chemicals and all like that. **This** is what's happnin here in this state. New industry, new way of life. And we **got** to get our share in it. We got to get jobs other than this service and porter and maid stuff. I **know.** I see how its gettin to be here in Montgomery, that never was no business town before. Its gettin built up all around, not like it was when I first started in on the road all young and wild.

"Not that I don't agree with Rev. Abernathy about how its gettin goodier and goodier,. But what I see is—lots more people got to see it before it happens here. And here's my home. I'm goin to retire in two years and here is where I want to do **that, too.** I got a brother in New York, keeps tellin me to leave **here,** come there. But **here's** my home.

HOW THEY ARE: "I got a plan. Want to get me some land **out** from here with a little lake on it. With fish in it. Build me a simple, ranch type house. Have two row boats for the fishin, in case when friends come. Build a room in the house just for friends to stay and enjoy themselves. Have plenty food, plenty liquor; anybody that comes winter or summer will be welcome. I might be **out** aways, but I wouldn't never be alone, now, would I? Always have some friend or other out to share it with **me.** That's what I see for a plan for when I retire. It's only two years more for me.

"Anything I would want to do for myself would naturally have to have room for whole lots of other people. You know how **we** are!. . . . But that plan of mine, it don't seem so strange, too much to ask, . . . after all these years of workin, . . . now **do** it?"

People's Songbook available again

THE PEOPLE'S SONGBOOK, edited by Waldemar Hille, has been re-issued by People's Artists Inc. The 128-page volume which was first published in 1948 by Boni & Gaer has been out-of-print for the last four years.

Making up the book are 100 songs, a cross-section of American folk music, songs of other countries, and labor and topical songs of the last 15 years.

At the time of its original publication, the American folklorist, Alan Lomax, said in a foreword to the volume:

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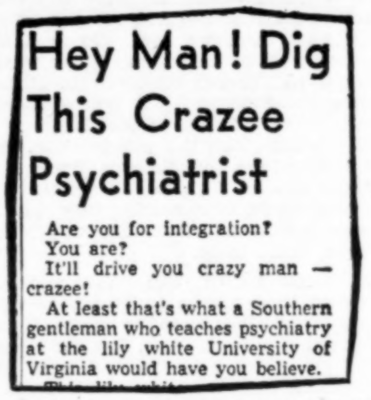
WHAT HAPPENS TO WHITES AND NEGROES?

The human impact of integration

By Eugene Gordon

NAACP board chairman Channing Tobias told a forum of the Natl. Assn. for Medical Health in New York last month that the crisis in the South was precipitated by "organized defiance" of the U. S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow school ruling "and defiance of Federal authority"—not by the ruling itself. Referring to the pledge by Dixiecrat signers of the "Southern Manifesto" to "use all lawful means" to reverse the integration ruling, Tobias said they would find "no legal way to disobey the law." To the theory that the ruling had disturbed almost a century of "peace and harmony" between Negro and white, Tobias replied:

"In Alabama, as in Poland, there is 'peace' as long as the people whose rights are being denied have no channel through which to express their discontent and little or no opportunity to challenge the status quo. To interpret [the Negroes'] silence under this totalitarian regime as acceptance is to fail to realize what lies beneath the surface. The absence of violence under such conditions is not to be equated with peace and harmony."



Hey Man! Dig This Crazee Psychiatrist

Are you for integration?
You are?
It'll drive you crazy man — crazee!
At least that's what a Southern gentleman who teaches psychiatry at the lily white University of Virginia would have you believe.

The essence of the varied Negro press comment on Dr. Wilson's views is expressed in this headline from the N. Y. Amsterdam News.

NO PROOF NEEDED: Dr. Tobias contended that jimcrow was instituted to replace slavery "as an instrument of white supremacy." He said: "The present hue and cry in the South is raised not so much against the leveling of physical barriers between the races as against the destruction of the symbols of a superior status. Jimcrow bestows upon the insecure white Southerner a cherished status of superiority which he does not have to prove in open competition. It is fear of losing this privileged position with its economic, social and political advantages and of being forced to compete with the Negro . . . which has aggravated the situation and inflamed many white Southerners to disregard law and order, decency and humanity."

On the other side of the coin, Dr. David C. Wilson, professor of neurology at the lily-white University of Virginia, told the American Psychiatric Assn.'s annual meeting in Chicago May 4 what he thinks is happening to competitive Negroes. Having "no status" as they struggle from "their own" culture toward integration, they are going crazy, he said.

"Forty years ago," Wilson declared, "Negro and white families lived across the street from each other. . . . The children played with each other and adult Negroes worked in white homes and on the farms. The relationship between white and Negro was that of master and servant. The Negro had a place which was honorable and respected but definitely inferior."

"STRESS AND STRAIN": Now, he said, Negroes own their homes, are better dressed, own cars, and have largely moved "from an agricultural to an urban culture." But this "stress and strain of life" is producing "senile dementia, artereosclerosis and especially schizophrenia" among Negroes. Their admission rate to mental hospitals in Virginia has "increased tremendously while the rates for whites diminished."

Eight New Orleans physicians and three psychiatrists recently filed affidavits to show that school integration would result in a community health hazard "psychologically traumatizing to the children of both races." The Southern Conference Education Fund's Medical Advisory Committee, in cooperation with a New Orleans Medical Assn. committee, then asked 56 physicians and psychiatrists: "From a professional point of view, how would you characterize the psychiatric effect of racially integrated schools on white and Negro children?" Four out of five thought integration would be either beneficial or have little effect on the children. A doctor who thought integration would harm both white and Negro added the qualifications ". . . under present setting."

WORTH AS A HUMAN BEING: Another doctor wrote:

"Initially there is likely to be some reserve and suspiciousness on the part of both races. Especially in the upper grades will the children first try to remain separate and to associate only with their own color. Some, inflamed by their elders, may become involved in fighting. Gradually it can be expected that the children will come to accept the individuals of the other race according to each one's worth as a human being. The overall effect on mental health should be salutary."

The most comprehensive analysis was by a psychiatrist:

"The fears that any mixture of the races will lead to increases of diseases, significant lowering of intelligence, or psychiatric difficulties in either race, are, to my view, unfounded. These seem to be rationalizations to attempt to show just cause why the status quo should be maintained and to seem to give a scientific medical basis for views which otherwise would have to be termed biased, undemocratic and un-Christian. Rationalizations of this sort also attempt to remove the cause for such views as a racial prejudice from the individual to a large external scientific and social causation.

"These methods of rationalization are common in history. In one form or another they have been used to give a pseudo-logical scientific front for action that has motivations other than the stated ones. Hitler used them effectively in Germany, except the prejudice was primarily against the Jew rather than the Negro. Perhaps it is forgotten that one of the reasons we fought so hard in World War II was to assert that racial intolerances were not compatible with freedom and democracy."

Claude Williams speaks in New York June 6

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Alabama minister whose fight for equality in the South has become legendary, will speak in New York Wed. eve June 6 on "The Challenge of Desegregation." He will speak with John Killens, author of the novel **Youngblood,** and James Aronson, executive editor of the GUARDIAN, at the Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St., Manhattan. Admission is 50 cents. The meeting is being sponsored by the Claude Williams Committee, Marion Davidson, chairman, Box 85, Old Chelsea Sta., N.Y.C. 11.

Williams, who recently has encountered at first hand the hostility of the White Citizens Councils, will tell of his experiences and will appraise the situation in the South in a discussion of the philosophy and the practical methods of bringing about integration.

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WE DON'T HAVE TO STAY LIKE WE ARE

I am one who believes mankind has unlimited capacity for progress—if we can only shake off the shackles of the past.

AFTER World War I the Allies at the Paris Peace Conference wanted to try the Kaiser for starting the war. The American and Japanese delegates maintained there was no law by which to try him. They held that simply to start a big war and kill a few millions of people was no crime. So, the peace conference finally charged the Kaiser only with "the supreme offense against morality". Holland refused to allow him to be extradited for trial on such a charge. The Kaiser spent the rest of his days at Doorn, Holland, in calm reflection sawing wood for pastime.

In 1928 sixty-two nations joined in the Treaty for the Renunciation of War. Our country was one. The treaty is sometimes called the Kellogg-Briand Pact after American Secretary of State Kellogg and the French Foreign Minister Briand who took the lead in getting the treaty accepted.

War Criminals and the Law

During World War II a United Nations War Crimes Commission met in London to consider how to deal with the Nazi leaders for starting another war. After some argument among themselves the Commission decided that the nations by joining the Kellogg-Briand Pact and various other agreements between the two wars had established a legal basis for treating the act of starting a war as a crime. It resulted that mankind after 1919 had made a step-up to light and progress.

Representatives of the big four powers, the U. S., the U. S. S. R., Great Britain and France meeting in London, on August 8, 1945, agreed on a statement of the principles of international law by which the Nazi leaders would be tried for the crime of starting World War II. Altogether 21 of the United Nations adhered to the plan of setting up a tribunal to apply this law for the first time. This court, called the International Military Tribunal, met at Nuremberg and tried 21 of the major Nazi leaders. The defendants insisted that still it was not a crime to start a war. They contended that war was an act of governments alone and no individual could be considered as individually responsible. The Tribunal overruled this defense. It held that the Germans accused of the crime were bound by the Kellogg-Briand Pact and other treaties and agreements Germany had entered into with other nations for the settlement of international disputes and controversies by peaceful means only. Germans, and later the Japanese, were adjudged guilty of crimes and paid the penalties assessed by the courts—some with hanging, others with imprisonment.

The new idea in the world that starting a war and killing several million people was a criminal act just as much as murder of a single individual captured the imagination of practically the entire world. The so-called civilized nations, with the exception of Germany, however, approved the trials. It seemed after Nuremberg we might grow up and become civilized.

Supreme Court Justice Jackson representing the U. S. told the world in his opening speech that they were not making a special law to try the Germans by, but general principles that from that day would be law for the world—even for the nations sitting in judgment on the defendants, leaders of the vanquished nation.

I felt that it was unfortunate that the court over in Nuremberg was dissolved when they finished trying the Germans. I thought the court ought to have been made a permanent institution ready to try any future statesmen in Russia, Great Britain, France, the United States, or any other country starting a new war. Though the court was dissolved, the law remained. No longer could any statesman think it was an offense only against morality to start a war—after Nuremberg in October, 1946, all were held to knowledge of the international law that the act of starting a war is a crime.

"Police Action" in Korea

Since then we have had another war. It didn't get so big as to become a third world war. But, it was no small affair, either. From the beginning of the Korean war, I considered that President Truman had violated the Nuremberg Law. He tried to make it appear that North Korea started the war and that he was put on the spot and could do nothing else than fight or let the Communists run over us. He and Secretary Acheson told us that the North Koreans launched a surprise attack at 4 a. m. Sunday morning June 25, 1950, all across the 38th parallel separating the northern part of Korea from the southern part where he had installed Syngman Rhee. We had no way of knowing the facts. He and Acheson had the only means of knowing what had happened and who started the war. So a great majority of people thought that we had to go in and fight for Syngman Rhee.

Before the war came, I had followed developments in Korea. I doubted the story Truman and Acheson told about that dawn attack. I doubted whether they had told us the whole story. I didn't believe in that war at all. I looked on it as a degrading and shameful thing for the war-minded in our great country to gloat over "Operation Killer" as it was called.

Inasmuch as the International Law applied at Nuremberg recognized that individuals who were not heads of state could render themselves guilty if they become accomplices in the crime of planning, preparing, initiating and waging war, I wanted no part in the Korean war. Therefore, in order to free myself as completely as possible from any complicity in the war against Korea, I refused to pay income taxes to help carry on the war.

I didn't wait to let the Government crack down on me as a tax evader. I openly announced I was refusing to pay taxes because I was conscientiously opposed to participating in that war through helping finance it. I wrote President Truman and told him I couldn't go along with him because I considered it a crime for our government to make war on the Korean people, bombing their cities and killing and maiming helpless people.

The Collector of Internal Revenue put a lien on my home for the tax, but didn't attempt to levy to collect until 1953. When the deputy attempted to make my bank pay over the money to satisfy the tax, I filed suit in the federal court to enjoin him from collecting. The Government, of course, tried to have my case thrown out. The district judge, however, ruled that I ought to be allowed to develop my case. Now, it is set for trial September 25, 1956.

The Justice Dept. feels sure the appellate courts will throw me out of court on technical grounds. Surely the learned men on our courts won't dodge the issue: whether a citizen of this democratic country has to do like the Germans did, follow blind leaders to their doom. Somehow, I don't see how any court in the land can rule that in a free country, the government can compel a citizen to assist it in the commission of a crime.

Truth Release

I want to be emancipated from war. I am grasping at freedom. Freedom for me will be freedom for all men in our country who feel as I do that we can get along all right with the rest of the world, if we do away with war. At any rate, win, lose or draw, my mind is made up. It's War-No-More for me. I feel better for having declared that I propose to live as a law-abiding citizen. I am going to obey the International Law at Nuremberg that makes war a crime even as murder is a crime.

In my lawsuit I am planning to take depositions to prove how the Korean war originated. Already I have proved that Syngman Rhee and his Foreign Minister Ben C. Limb have publicly admitted that they started the war to overthrow the North Korean government and extend the jurisdiction of their government over all Korea. That, of course, was not a lawful purpose for a war—no more so than Hitler's to extend the rule of the government of which he was the head over a lot of adjoining territory.

There are a lot of facts about behind the scenes activities of Dulles and MacArthur and other high officials that are still classified as "secret, confidential and privileged". The truth must come out. I figure truth won't hurt our country. It will only embarrass some high policy makers and expose a lot of international gangsterism. (That was the term the French prosecutor at Nuremberg used to describe war.)

If I win my case, I will have shown the way to disarmament and peace: simply for us to live by the international law that we now have on the books. The law made at Nuremberg only needs international courts to apply and enforce it. It may not be too soon to hope that the will is forming all over the world to accept the law of Nuremberg as it was intended to be in 1946, ten years ago—a new law for the world. For it is no less than that—whether we now recognize it or not. The law can never be revoked.

A favorable decision in my lawsuit would be like a ray of the morning sun over the American horizon, lighting up the whole wide world. What a harbinger, a hope and a blessing for a world still sleeping in the darkness of war-slavery it will be!

It is thrilling just to think "We do not have to stay like we are," but I have been fighting this war tax since 1950 and I MUST have help to carry on the fight.

FYKE FARMER

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300 W. Bellevue Drive, Nashville 5, Tenn.

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A VICTORY IN CHICAGO

Judge tosses out indictment in deportation parole case

THE PRACTICE OF grilling non-citizens under parole was sharply assailed last week in a decision by Federal District Judge Philip L. Sullivan in Chicago dismissing an indictment against George Witkovich.

Witkovich and James Keller had both declined to answer some of the questioning to which parolees are subject. Supervisory parole is a form of harassment for those non-citizens who have been ordered deported but whose native lands will not cooperate by accepting them, and who can find no other country to grant them a visa. They must report regularly and in many cases Immigration Dept. examiners then probe into their beliefs, personal associations, reading habits.

When Witkovich and Keller refused to answer some of these questions, the Department had them indicted for violating parole. The criminal provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law impose a penalty of a $1,000 fine, a year in jail, or both, for such violations.

DO YOU READ ENGLISH?: In arguing the case Witkovich's attorney Pearl M. Hart cited 22 questions asked of her client which, she said, were totally irrelevant. Judge Sullivan agreed. He said:

"The first question in the indictment is: 'Do you subscribe to the **Daily Worker?**' Quite aside from its obvious irrelevancy to availability for deportation, to subject a man to criminal penalties for failure to answer a question as to what he reads would be an apparent infringement of rights protected by the First Amendment."

The Judge ridiculed these questions asked of Witkovich:

"Can you read in any other language than Slovene and English? . . . Have you attended any meeting of any organization other than the singing club . . . Have you attended any movies at the Cinema Annex?"

"SERIOUS QUESTIONS": He also ruled as irrelevant questions concerning attendance at Communist Party meetings or whether or not Witkovich knew certain individuals. Although finding the supervisory parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act not unconstitutional Judge Sullivan said:

"To hold that the statute intended to give an official the unlimited right to subject a man to criminal penalties for failure to answer absolutely any question the official may decide to ask would raise very serious constitutional questions."

Judge Sullivan said he would determine the relevancy of any questions by one standard: ". . . do they assist the Attorney General in making certain that the alien will be available for deportation?"

KELLER CASE AFFECTED: Finding the questions did not meet that standard he threw out the indictment. The Dept. of Justice promptly indicated it would appeal the ruling. Meanwhile the Sullivan decision seemed certain to affect the case of Keller, who was indicted on substantially the same grounds as Witkovich, and slated to stand trial in Chicago on June 4.

The James Keller Defense Committee has urged that letters be sent to Atty. Gen. Brownell in Washington, D.C., expressing opposition to the Walter-McCarran Act and its supervisory parole provisions. The Committee is also seeking funds to continue its defense work. Its address: 431 South Dearborn St., Room 325, Chicago 5, Ill.

GOVERNMENT REPLIES

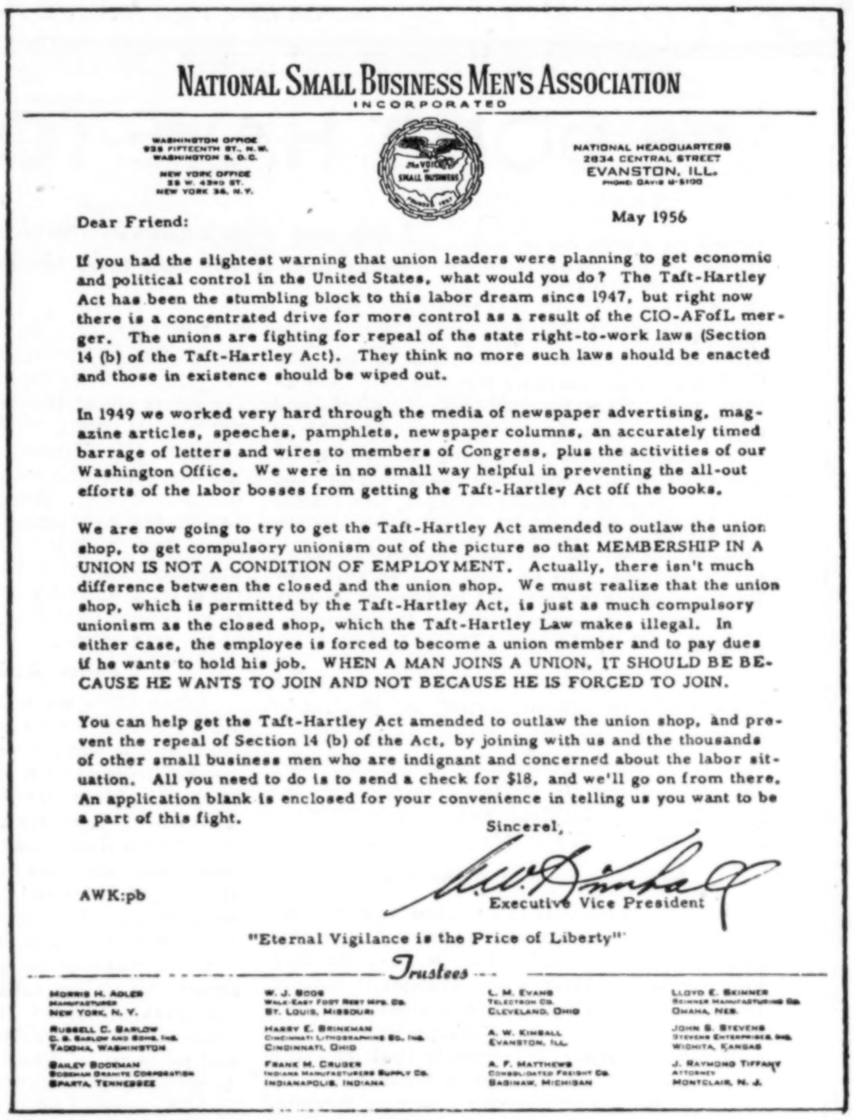
Judge Kaufman insists on hearing Sobell argument

JUDGE IRVING R. KAUFMAN, who sentenced Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to death and Morton Sobell to 30 years' imprisonment, last week insisted that he be the one to hear arguments for a new trial for Sobell.

Sobell's attorneys—Donner, Kinoy and Perlin of New York and Benjamin Dreyfus of San Francisco—have filed a brief containing new evidence to show that Sobell had been convicted on perjurious evidence. The retrial motion came before Judge Sylvester J. Ryan. Such motions are usually referred to the original trial judge, but when the Sobell attorneys asked Judge Ryan to hear the arguments, he agreed unless Judge Kaufman indicated a preference to hear it himself.

GOVERNMENT REPLIES: At a conference with attorneys for both Sobell and the government, Judge Kaufman said he saw no ground to disqualify himself, although the Sobell attorneys recalled the damning comments he had made at the time of sentencing. Judge Kaufman said he felt obliged to consider the new motion and tentatively set May 28, for the hearing.

The government filed its answer to the Sobell brief for a new trial. Next week's GUARDIAN will carry an analysis of that answer.



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May 1956

Dear Friend:

If you had the slightest warning that union leaders were planning to get economic and political control in the United States, what would you do? The Taft-Hartley Act has been the stumbling block to this labor dream since 1947, but right now there is a concentrated drive for more control as a result of the CIO-AFofL merger. The unions are fighting for repeal of the state right-to-work laws (Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act). They think no more such laws should be enacted and those in existence should be wiped out.

In 1949 we worked very hard through the media of newspaper advertising, magazine articles, speeches, pamphlets, newspaper columns, an accurately timed barrage of letters and wires to members of Congress, plus the activities of our Washington Office. We were in no small way helpful in preventing the all-out efforts of the labor bosses from getting the Taft-Hartley Act off the books.

We are now going to try to get the Taft-Hartley Act amended to outlaw the union shop, to get compulsory unionism out of the picture so that MEMBERSHIP IN A UNION IS NOT A CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT. Actually, there isn't much difference between the closed and the union shop. We must realize that the union shop, which is permitted by the Taft-Hartley Act, is just as much compulsory unionism as the closed shop, which the Taft-Hartley Law makes illegal. In either case, the employee is forced to become a union member and to pay dues if he wants to hold his job. WHEN A MAN JOINS A UNION, IT SHOULD BE BECAUSE HE WANTS TO JOIN AND NOT BECAUSE HE IS FORCED TO JOIN.

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The big drive against labor now is to outlaw the union shop, as the letter above clearly demonstrates. There are so-called right-to-work laws on the books in 18 states now. In the State of Washington a furious battle is being waged over a right-to-work statute to be voted on this November. The California Assn. of Employers in a secret meeting this month decided to campaign for a right-to-work law in that state; the Assn. president said, "This campaign will take millions, but the money will be made available."

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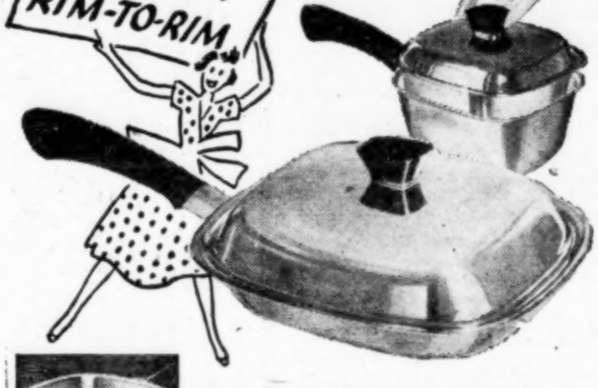

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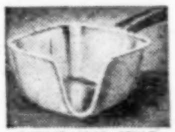

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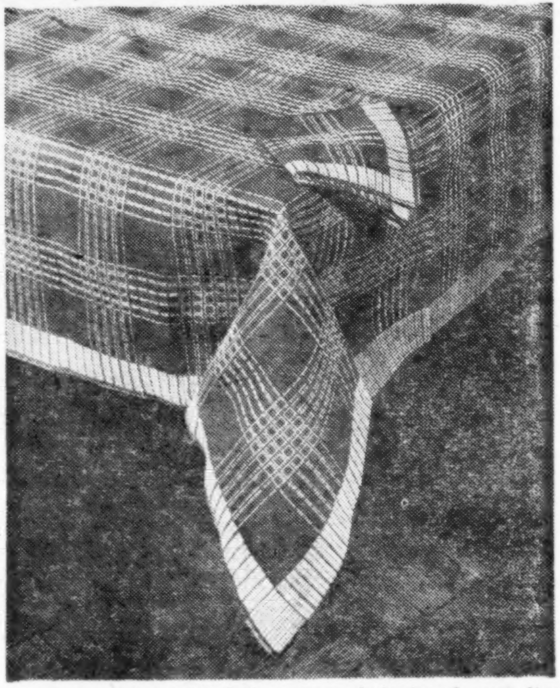

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the SPECTATOR

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During World War II I did 11 commercially-sponsored broadcasts a week, and one or more daily stints overseas for OWI shortwave. Radio Tokyo called me names like "the voice of Roosevelt's propaganda department." Loved that title!

A Filipino guerrilla colonel wrote me, during the UN conference in San Francisco: "Your voice was worth one-sixth of my forces to me."

THOSE WERE CHEERFUL TIMES for an anti-fascist. It was the OWI experience that really made me "progressive"—and fighting mad. It happened when I saw MacArthur and his clique of businessmen-turned-army-brass welcome back collaborators and landlords and turn their backs on the Filipino peasants who had fought fascism. The American promise, shortwaved daily by me and others, was broken.

The program went on after the war, first CIO-sponsored and later—after the CIO started tearing itself apart by witch-hunting—supported by such unions as the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Marine Cooks and Stewards and by contributions from people outside labor.

The vitality and protest that went into the fight against fascism was transferred to the fight for OPA, better housing, desegregation, against Taft-Tartley, etc. Besides, we out here in S.F. had something very special—the never-ending frame-up against Harry Bridges.

This program (then on an ABC station) really waded into that fight—calling the turn on the fantastic parade of pathological stoolpigeons the Justice Dept. had dug up. During the 1949-50 Bridges trial an executive of the station warned that if Bridges was convicted my neck would be chopped off too.

Early in the Korean war I invited Bridges to speak his piece and counteract the distorted press reports about him. Without warning, Bridges' appearance was canceled and so was my program.

The Hearst press had a field day—actually had banner headlines announcing the death of the program.

THE DEATH NOTICE WAS PREMATURE. We're celebrating June First—six years after our "funeral." The program hasn't merely survived; we're expecting to expand soon. We're a solid part of the historic counter-offensive against hysteria.

These have been 15 extremely exciting years—but not the kind of life I would recommend for any budding broadcaster who wants in on the heavy dough.

To make a living I work five days a week on the waterfront. It makes a long week, but when a longshoreman turns away from the hook for a moment to say "Nice program you had last night," you realize what you're really celebrating—the next 15 years!

Sidney Roger

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